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On February 6, 1964 in a press conference Fidel Castro made repeated references to overflights. The most significant of his remarks are:

"Ever since the October crisis the Cuban Government has maintained that there are several factors which constitute a threat to the peace of the country. One of these factors is the presence of the Guantanamo Base, (others--ed.) the violations of Cuban airspace by US planes, pirate attacks, and a whole group of facts which are too well-known. All of these problems constitute a source of danger and conflicts, and the Cuban Government wishes to point out that the responsibility for this situation lies entirely with the US Government.

"The Government of Cuba has repeatedly warned the United States of the consequences which may result from violations of our airspace. It must not be forgotten that this is an arbitrary action which may create problems and incidents."

In a speech on April 19, 1964 Castro made the following statements with regard to overflights specifically mentioning surface-to-air missiles for the first time.

"Who is responsible for those aggressive actions, the provocations, and the violations of our airspace? We have not sanctioned them, and we will not legalize them. We will not legalize those violations against our law and our sovereignty. They are provoking us. These things are simply intolerable. We are going to be calm -- we are going to be calm. We are going to proceed with two things: not only with intelligence but also with valor. This is the way we should proceed. We will not act with intelligence alone or valor alone. How should our people act? With both things: with intelligence and with valor. Valor will not lack intelligence and intelligence will not lack valor.

"But we serve warning that both these provocations (Guantanamo and overflights) and the other violations of our rights -- not economic blockades, but physical aggressions against our territory -- we are not disposed to tolerate them, cost what it will and come what may.

"Let us prepare ourselves, comrades. Let us prepare our combat units; let us prepare our land, sea, and air forces. Let us pre-

pare our surface-to-air missiles. And let the imperialists decide. If they want peace with our nation there will be peace, but if they want war we are not afraid of war."

On April 20, 1964 at a noon briefing at the State Department, a State Department spokesman in reply to a question, in light of the April 19 statement, whether policy flights over Cuba was being reviewed said:

"First, I would recall that the overflights are a substitute for the on-site inspection agreed to by the Soviets in October 1962, but which Fidel Castro refused to permit.

"Second, I would point out that the surveillance flights are thoroughly based on the resolution approved by the CAS on October 23, 1962.

"Third, I would remind you of the various statements made by the late President Kennedy and by Secretary Rusk during the past 15 months on this subject, making it unmistakably clear that we regard the overflights as a necessity to avoid the deception which was practiced against us in 1962.

"Fourth, I would recall that Secretary Rusk said, in March a year ago, 'If there were any interruption with our surveillance, then...that could create a highly dangerous situation'.

"Our publicly expressed position on this question remains unchanged."

In his May Day speech Castro devoted a great deal of attention to the matter of overflights and the "problem of the violations of our aircpace." Among relevant remarks are the following:

"But the imperialists should know, they should know without any doubt remaining, that those flights must cease, that at the end of this effort, those flights will have to cease. We will resort to international legal means to discuss this problem. We will take it before world opinion. We will take them before whatever organizations it is necessary to take them, but in the end the imperialists must know that those flights have to cease. And why? Because we do not accept them. And if all reasoning, if

all reasoning is useless, if arguments, law, right, and ethics are useless, we consider those flights armed aggressions against our sovereignty and as such we will repel those aggressions with arms.

"The day we decide to reestablish the sovereign right of Cuba violated by those planes, we will not do it thinking of world conflagrations or of strategic missiles. We will do it thinking of our own blood. We will do it thinking of our force. In doing so, we assume the responsibility and the risks.

"This would not be a dignified nation if, when it adopted attitudes in defense of its security and sovereignty, it did so behind the protection of other countries' forces. When it comes to defending our sovereignty and dignity, we do not take into account the strength of the enemy nor do we take our own strength into account. The only thing we take into account is that we have the duty to defend our rights, and that we know how to fulfill that duty, and that we are ready to fulfill that duty because that is our right and our dignity."